

学校编码: 10384

分类号_____密级_____

学 号: 25720120153593

UDC_____

廈門大學

博 士 学 位 论 文

清代河南乡试研究

A Study of the Henan Provincial Examination
during the Qing Dynasty

程 伟

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论文提交日期: 2015 年 10 月

论文答辩时间: 2015 年 12 月

学位授予日期: 2015 年 月

答辩委员会主席: _____

评 阅 人: _____

2015 年 10 月

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摘 要

乡试作为古代社会一种健全的考试选才制度，是教育学、历史学和科举学共同关注的重要领域。目前学术界已从不同的学科、视角或层面展开了广泛的研究，取得了不少有价值的研究成果。但是关于河南乡试，目前尚未见到全面、深入和系统的学术探讨，尤其关于清代河南乡试的研究更为薄弱，尚处于探索阶段。为此，本研究以清代河南乡试为对象，运用多种研究方法，对这一断代区域乡试史进行全面、系统的探讨。这不仅有助于丰富和完善教育学、历史学和科举学研究，还可以知古明今、古为今用，为现代教育考试、公务员考试和人事录用制度改革等提供可资参考的历史借鉴。

鉴于此，本研究首先从制度史的视野出发，运用历史与文献研究法，对清代河南乡试的考试日期、举办科次、乡试配额进行系统梳理与考证。发现受皇帝登基或大婚、皇帝或太后万寿、自然灾害、内外战争等因素的影响，有清河南文科乡试 110 科，其中有 8 科乡试不在既定的农历八月举行，有 24 次恩科、2 次恩正并科和 1 次并科乡试亦不在规定的子、卯、午、酉年举行；受黄河水患和战乱的影响，清代河南有 2 科乡试被迫停科；除上述提及的各因素外，受豫省科甲文风高下，政治考量和教育规模变化的影响与制约，清代河南乡试定额、正榜中额、副榜中额和恩赏中额呈现起伏跌宕的演变特征。

其次，本研究在介绍清代乡试考官与执事官遴选与管理制度的基础上，对清代河南乡试考官的简用资格、遣派额数、简放日期、路费发放等沿革情况作了系统研究。对负责考务的监临、提调、内外监试等总理执事官的任用职衔、出身情况及其职责分工进行全面论述，发现各执事官之间既分工明确又相互协作，反映出清代科场立法的严密性。并对以外帘四所官为例的分理执事官的职衔、数量、职责、奖罚等方面作了系统分析，发现这些方面都有着相当严格而周密的制度规定，并且随着考试形势的变化能够适时作出调整，体现出清代河南乡试考官遴选与管理制度灵活性的一面。

再次，本研究从制度史和活动史的视角出发，按照乡试实施的时间顺序，

以考生为中心，分为考生入闱前、入闱及考试期间、三场完竣出闱后三个阶段，在考察清代相关制度规定的基础上，对清代河南乡试实施前后的规程与仪节作了系统研究。研究发现，清代河南乡试实施规程中的上述环节，可以说是环环相扣，步步关防，分工明晰，组织严密，防弊严谨。并且各环节都有相应的礼制要求，为突出乡试活动的严肃性和权威性，还专门举行诸如入闱宾兴礼、上马宴、鹿鸣宴、祭孔等儒家仪礼活动。这种将儒家仪礼贯彻到乡试规程中的做法，一定程度上反映出清代河南乡试注重程序，讲求礼仪，重视法度的特点。

又次，本研究在系统探讨清代科举经费与科场供应规制的基础上，对清代河南乡试考前贡院修建及其经费开支和考试过程中科场运作的经费开支进行研究，发现清代河南乡试经费开支有着相当规范且严明的制度规定，在一些经费开支方面还体现出明显的等级性。不过，如同清代科举经费制度，清代河南乡试经费制度亦具有灵活性的一面，其经费开支有时还体现出乡试作为一种文化活动应有的人文关怀。通过考察与分析豫闱人员饮食和用具的供应状况，可以明显地看出，清代河南乡试科场供应具有规范化、等级性和奢华化的特点。

最后，本研究从历史变迁的视角，通过明清两代河南举人地域分布的对比研究，发现河南两代举人的地域分布是不平衡的，不过，这种不平衡自明历清呈现出相对均衡化的演进趋势。整体上看，明清两代豫中地区始终为举人的聚集区，豫北地区举人数量清代出现较大幅度的增长，豫南地区出现一定程度的下降。从府级政区来看，光州、怀庆府、河南府、开封府所在的淮河和黄河沿岸地区，归德府所辖豫东平原，是清代河南科甲最为鼎盛地区；彰德和卫辉二府所在的豫北地区，陈州府和许州所辖豫中地区是科甲次发达地区；南阳府、汝宁府、汝州和陕州等豫南和豫西南地区为科甲欠发达地区。就县级区域而言，举人分布整体上呈现以府（州）治所在地向周边各县（厅、州）扩散的分布特点。上述清代河南举人地域分布特点的形成原因固然非常复杂，但主要是在人口规模、区域经济、地方教育和地理环境等因素的影响和作用下形成的。

关键词：清代；河南；乡试；举人

ABSTRACT

The triennial provincial examination (*xiangshi*) as a sound system for elite selection in Chinese ancient society, is commonly considered as an important area of study by researchers in the field of education, history and imperial examination study. In recent years, it has been well studied in different fields, with various perspectives, at multiple levels and considerable valuable research has been achieved. However, the lack of comprehensive, thorough and systematic academic studies on Henan provincial examination is worth of being considered and in particular, the research on the period of Qing Dynasty is still at an exploratory stage. The study intends to explore the Henan provincial examination system during the period of Qing Dynasty with the application of multiple research methods. It will on one hand enrich and complete the previous studies; on the other hand, enlighten the present and offer some references for reforms in modern educational examinations, civil servant examinations and personnel recruitment system.

The first part of the study focuses on the general documentary review of Henan provincial examination system during the Qing Dynasty, including test dates, times and quotas. It indicates that there were 110 provincial examinations in Henan during the whole period of Qing Dynasty, among which 8 times were not held in lunar August as usual. 24 imperial grace examinations (*enke*), 2 the imperial grace examinations together with regular scheduled examinations (*enzheng bingshi*) and 1 the regular scheduled examination were held together (*zhengke bingshi*), whose examinations were not scheduled in the year of Zi, Mao, Wu and You year. Several factors could have an impact on the exam date-setting, such as events like emperor's enthronement or marriage, emperor's or empress dowager's birthday, or natural disasters and wars, etc. During this period, the examination was forced to be cancelled twice due to the yellow River floods and the wars. Besides the above mentioned factors, owing to the influence and restraint of candidates' papers quality,

political considerations and educational scales changes, the evolution of quotas, admission quotas, numbers of “second-class provincial graduates” (*fubang*) and imperial grace quotas of the Henan provincial examination was characterized with some ups and downs.

The second part introduces systematically the system of examiners and staff selection and management, including their qualification, the dispatched numbers of examiners, their departure date and travelling expense distribution, etc. It elaborates comprehensively the aspects like the position, academic background and the mission division of presiding examiners (*jianlin guan*), education commissioners (*tidaoguan*), proctors (*jianshi guan*) and other officials. It reveals that the mission divisions are clearly defined and well-coordinated, which reflects the rigorousness of the imperial examination legislations during the Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile, this study also analyzes the positions, numbers, missions, rewards and punishment of collectors (*shoujuan guan*), sealers (*mifeng guan*), copyists (*tenglu guan*), proofreaders (*duidu guan*). It finds that all these aspects are strictly and thoroughly regulated and well-adjusted to the real situations, which also shows the flexibility of the selection and management system of the examiner and related officials.

The third part presents the student-centered time sequence of the exam process from the perspective of system and event studies, including three phases: before the exam, during and after. On the basis of the examination of the related regulations in the Qing Dynasty, this study conducts a systematic research on the application of regulations in the practice before and after the examination and the related ceremonies. It shows that the regulations for each phase have been well put into execution, closely connected, well-distributed and organized with great caution. In order to show the seriousness and the authority of the examination, at each phase, several ceremonies were held such as Binxing ritual, Shangma banquet, Luming banquet, the ceremony of Confucius (*jikong*), etc. The implication of these Confucian ritual activities indicates the special focus on procedures, manners and regulations.

The fourth part explains the provincial examination hall construction and its expenditure the total expenses for the whole process of examination, based on the

studies of the imperial examination funds and supply regulations during the Qing Dynasty. It shows that the regulations are fairly normative and impartial and an obvious hierarchy in expense distributions is identified to some extent. However, as to system of imperial examination during the Qing Dynasty, the funding system of the Henan provincial examination is comparatively more flexible and its expenditure shows the humanistic concerns. Moreover, it also reveals that this supply system is normalized, hierarchical and luxurious through the study of the food supply and the appliance in the provincial examination hall.

The last part of the study identifies the imbalanced characteristics of geographical distribution of Henan Juren during the Ming and Qing Dynasty from a historical perspective. However, the tendency has been evolved to be more balanced through its development from Ming to Qing. In general, the majority of the Juren in the two dynasties are from the central part of Henan province and the number of those from north part has much increased during the Qing Dynasty while, the number from south decreasing. At provincial level, the most prosperous areas for imperial examination development in the Qing Dynasty situated along the Huai River and Yellow River, such as Guangzhou department, Huaqing prefecture, Henan prefecture and Kaifeng prefecture and also the eastern Plains governed by Guide prefecture in the Henan Province. The districts like Zhangde prefecture and Weihui prefecture in the north, and the central part of Henan province governed by Chenzhou prefecture and Xuzhou department seconded in the prosperity. The areas in the south and south-west of the province were considered as underdeveloped, such as Nanyang prefecture, Ruzhou department, Runing prefecture and Shanzhou department. At the county's level, the geographical distribution of Henan Juren was generally presented as a district-centered expansion to the counties surrounded. In a word, in spite of the complex causes, geographical distribution of Henan Juren during the Qing Dynasty has been formed under the impacts of various factors: population size, regional economies, local education and geographical conditions, etc.

Key words: the Qing Dynasty; Henan; triennial provincial examinations; Juren

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绪论

第一节 研究缘起与意义

科举是帝制时代中国最为健全的一种考试选才制度，也是最为重要的一项政治及社会制度^①，在中国历史上存在时间长达 1300 年之久。作为传统社会国家的“抡才大典”，科举制对隋唐以来中国乃至整个东亚的政治、社会、教育、文化等方面产生过重大而深远的影响。尤其是“唐宋以后，科举在当时国家的政治生活和社会结构中占据了中心地位，科举考试成为人文教育活动的首要内容，是贯穿帝制中国后期的一根制度支柱和文化主脉”^②。

然而，19 世纪下半叶以后，中国社会面临着“数千年来未有之大变局”，随着西方对近代中国坚船利炮、西学东渐的猛烈冲击，科举制因无法适应清末风驰电掣般的时世变迁而被废止。但这种经过千余载发展历史积淀的文化遗产，并不因制度的终结而降低其在人类文明进程中的作用与影响。上世纪 20 年代，现代意义上的科举研究渐自兴起，经过 20 世纪的跌宕起伏，至 21 世纪初，学显之后则蔚然成学^③。科举学的形成与发展必然要求科举研究更加全面、深入和系统，而当前科举研究呈现宏观研究居多，中观和微观研究偏少的局面^④。乡试作为科举学一个重要的研究领域，对其进行系统研究实乃当前科举学纵深化发展的需要。

乡试之名始于金代，但作为省级考试的乡试则晚至于元代^⑤。乡试虽是中国科举史各层级考试中最迟出现的一级，确是科举系统中竞争最为激烈的一级。作为省一级的考试，乡试与区域政治文化密切相关，明清时期在科举系统中是影响最大一级考试。明清社会通常所说的“科举”经常是指乡试，特指的“科

① 李弘祺：《宋代官学教育与科举》，台北：联经出版事业公司 1994 年版，第 14 页。

② 刘海峰：《科举学导论》，武汉：华中师范大学出版社 2005 年版，第 1 页。

③ 刘海峰教授在《科举学导论》一书中认为，科举学是一门综合性的专学，一门发展中的新兴学科。该书的出版被学术界一般视为科举学形成的标志。

④ 参阅刘海峰：《科举学的起承转合——科举研究史的千年回顾》，载《社会科学战线》2013 年第 7 期，第 210-222 页。

⑤ 李治安：《元代乡试新探》，载《南开学报》1999 年第 6 期，第 156-164 页。

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